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THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES USED BY THE INDIANS OF THE PACIFIC COAST*

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Some time ago my attention was attracted to the matter of the names given by the Indians to various places, especially in the region of the Pacific coast from Puget Sound to northern California. Within these limits I have had opportunity to talk with several hundred natives, and the total number of names obtained from them amounts to many thousands. Whenever sojourning among a tribe, I have endeavored to get every geographical name they knew, the "meaning" of it, and the exact spot on the map to which it referred, the last-named labor being facilitated by the excellent topographic maps of the U. S. Geological Survey and the charts of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The American public evinces a good deal of interest in this matter of Indian names. I have during late years received many a request for Indian words to be employed as the names for estates, for motor boats, for bungalows, and beach cottages. In some cases the old Indian names for places have become famous, having been attached by accident to some subsequently notable site. Where this has happened, as, for example, where a great city or a world-famous mountain boasts an Indian name, the *meaning* of the name becomes a matter of interest to thousands of people. It is a misfortune that some of the old names have become matters of dispute, owing largely to the fact that inquiries were not made prior to the passing of the Indians. Thus the meaning of "Manhattan," which is an Indian name, has given rise to a good deal of theorizing and to some conflict of authority and remains a matter of genuine uncertainty. The question of the original name of Mt. Rainier, in the state of Washington, suggests itself also in this connection. This magnificent peak towers up in the neighborhood of two rival cities, one of which has advanced the contention that the original Indian name of the peak was "Tacoma" and that the mountain name should be changed accordingly. The whole question as to whether its name was Tacoma and, if so, what the meaning of Tacoma originally was, is still a matter of lively interest to the communities involved. I have been told that a hundred thousand dollars has been expended, directly and indirectly, in the campaign to have the name changed; largely, of course, on printing and publicity. The whole matter unfortunately was entered into in a partisan and not in a disinterested spirit.

* The expense of the journeys on which Indian place names were obtained has been borne by several institutions, among them the University of California, the University of Washington, and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. To all of them acknowledgments are due.

In my own work such mooted points have not arisen. My purpose has been to collect as many names as possible in each area investigated, meanwhile listening to the folklore that associates itself with these old places and acquainting myself with the life of the people. By making a complete collection in each area it becomes possible to compare one tribe with another, as regards geographical usages. I now propose to say something, therefore, about the sort of names that West Coast Indians give to places and about how these tribes compare with one another and with ourselves in this respect.

DIFFICULTIES IN DETERMINING THE ORIGIN OF PLACE NAMES IN GENERAL

Certain difficulties thrust themselves forward in work of this character, and it is desirable that they be explained at the outset. It is in every case possible to find exactly the spot to which a name applies. There is no limit to the accuracy possible in this respect except that of time and money. The *meaning* of Indian names, however, must remain in many cases a matter of some uncertainty. There is a probability of error which cannot be precisely measured. This is true, for that matter, as regards the place names of all countries and all peoples. Place names often come down from a hoary antiquity, and the original meaning is often not known to the latter-day people who live in the region. I can illustrate this point by asking you to imagine going out as a stranger on our streets, to learn what our place names mean. You encounter a person on Broadway who seems to have a moment's leisure and ask him the meaning of the name "Boston." One person in a thousand, perhaps, would be able to tell you that our Boston is named after the town of Boston in Lincolnshire, England. To find the derivation of the English Boston you would probably have to make reference to some such source book as "The Place-Names of England and Wales"¹ which would inform you that the name of the English town was originally St. Botolph's town. Old place names are extraordinarily likely to persist even through migrations and conquests, when the spoken language shifts and one tongue is replaced by another. Thus place names remain as puzzles and conundrums for new generations. When the Romans conquered Britain and gave their own names to places, far and wide, they found in southern Britain a big town which they honored by calling "Augusta." Their historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, speaks of setting out from Augusta which the "ancient" people called "London." He probably supposed that the name of the place would remain "Augusta" from his day until the crack of doom; but within a few years the old name London was in universal use again. Concerning the meaning, however, of this old British name there is no certainty today.

What is worse than forgotten origins are deceptive explanations. For example, Bosphorus means an "ox-ford"; but whether or not this is the sig-

¹ J. B. Johnston: *The Place-Names of England and Wales*, London, 1915.

nificance of the English town named Oxford is questionable. This "obvious" meaning is generally disputed, many authorities believing that "ox" is a mistaken Anglo-Saxon identification with one variant of the old Celtic for "water."² The case of Cambridge, England, is somewhat similar. The town is on the river Cam, but Cambridge does not mean "Cam-bridge," or bridge over the Cam. This form appears only in the twelfth century. The older name of the river was "Granta." "Cam" is Celtic, "crooked,"³ i. e. the name originally meant "crooked ford."

The origin of even comparatively modern names is also apt to be lost. Some interesting illustrations from South African place names have been discussed in the *South African Journal of Science*.⁴ Bloemfontein may be instanced. This name is variously derived from "flowers and springs" and from Jan Blom, a notorious outlaw of some hundred years ago.

In arriving at the derivation of such place names as those discussed above, dependence is largely placed on documentary evidence. But there is no such line of investigation before the student of Indian place names. All that the observer can do is to ask an Indian what a certain name is believed to mean. A large proportion of these names can be correctly explained, but there is always the difficulty of telling absolutely and finally which out of a number of explanations is correct. As has been said, there is an element of uncertainty here which no scientifically minded person would deny.

The psychological factor back of the difficulty is this: that an informant, especially if he be untrained in the methods of scholarship, will give as the meaning of a name, anything which *sounds* correct. There is a place in England (in Staffordshire) called Talk-on-the-Hill; and the country people explain to strangers that Charles the First held a council of war there. The name is really from the Celtic *twlch*, meaning a "knoll." When the Celtic tongue passed away from the neighborhood, and Saxon came to be spoken, the old name remained but meant nothing to the newcomers; eventually *twlch* was made over into "talk" and the story about Charles added to account for the name. In the state of Washington is a small town called Colby. A local historian quotes seriously a correspondent who says the name was derived from *Coal Bay*, "because some one found a lump of coal by the creek there." Such naive explanations never fail to be entertaining, and no doubt similar "folk etymologies" exist in my own notes concerning Indian names, though the greatest care has been taken to get the etymologies as accurately as possible, and most of them seem to be genuine.⁵ With this preliminary caution I now proceed to discuss some of these results.

² Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

³ Isaac Taylor: *Names and their Histories*, New York, 1896, pp. 81-82.

⁴ Charles Pettman: *An Inquiry into the Derivation of Certain South African Place Names*, *South African Journ. of Sci.*, Vol. 12, 1915-16, pp. 159-170 and Vol. 16, 1919-20, pp. 432-442.

⁵ On the difficulties of determining the origin of Indian place names compare A. L. Kroeber: *California Place Names of Indian Origin*, *Univ. of California Publ. in Amer. Archeol. and Ethnol.*, Vol. 12, 1916, pp. 31-60

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN PLACE NAMES

Indians are extraordinarily industrious in applying and inventing names for places. On Puget Sound alone, there seem to have been in the neighborhood of ten thousand proper names. I have secured about half of this number, the remainder having passed out of memory. I am continually warned by Indians that they give me for my maps only a small part of the total number which *once* was used. The rest they have either forgotten or never heard. "The old people could have told you all" is the remark most commonly heard. The vast majority of these names were explained to me after a fashion, but in some cases the Indians themselves had no idea what the name meant, explaining oftentimes that it might be in some foreign or forgotten language. This difficulty, of course, is one commonly experienced in endeavoring to get the meaning of place names among primitive folk—or indeed, one may say, among uneducated people in general. Rodway says the same thing about the Indians of British Guiana. "They use the same words as their fathers but do not trouble to find out their meanings. In some cases the original inhabitants have died out; even tribes are entirely lost, with not even a parrot to give us an idea of their language."⁶

THE VAST NUMBER OF LOCAL NAMES

Thus, one phenomenon of wide occurrence among primitive tribes is the vast number of local names in use. In some places in my area the names are so numerous that I could not enter them on a Geological Survey topographic sheet. Even when I represented each name by a number (compare the map herewith) the figures became so crowded together that the whole became illegible. These names often refer to very minute places in the topography. Indeed, it may be stated as a rule that there is a large series of names for small places, with astonishingly few names for the large features of the region. A special name will often be given to a rock no larger than a kitchen table while, on the other hand, what we consider the large and important features of a region's geography often have no names at all. Mountain ranges are nameless; there are no names for bays; in the case of one tribe, the Yurok of northern California, the rivers have no proper names of their own; and islands are nameless, almost without exception.⁷ Of 718 names which I collected in the immediate neighborhood of Seattle, independently of other inquirers, less than two dozen referred to the large features of the coast line and relief. In the case of more than 2,000 names collected in northern California, the proportion was even less. This is best illustrated by a few concrete examples.

The Yurok once gave me 12 place names on the slopes of a mountain.

⁶ James Rodway: The River-Names of British Guiana, *Bull. Amer. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. 36, 1904, pp. 396-402; reference on p. 400.

⁷ See the author's paper "Yurok Geography," *Univ. of California Publs. in Amer. Archeol. and Ethnol.*, Vol. 16, 1920.

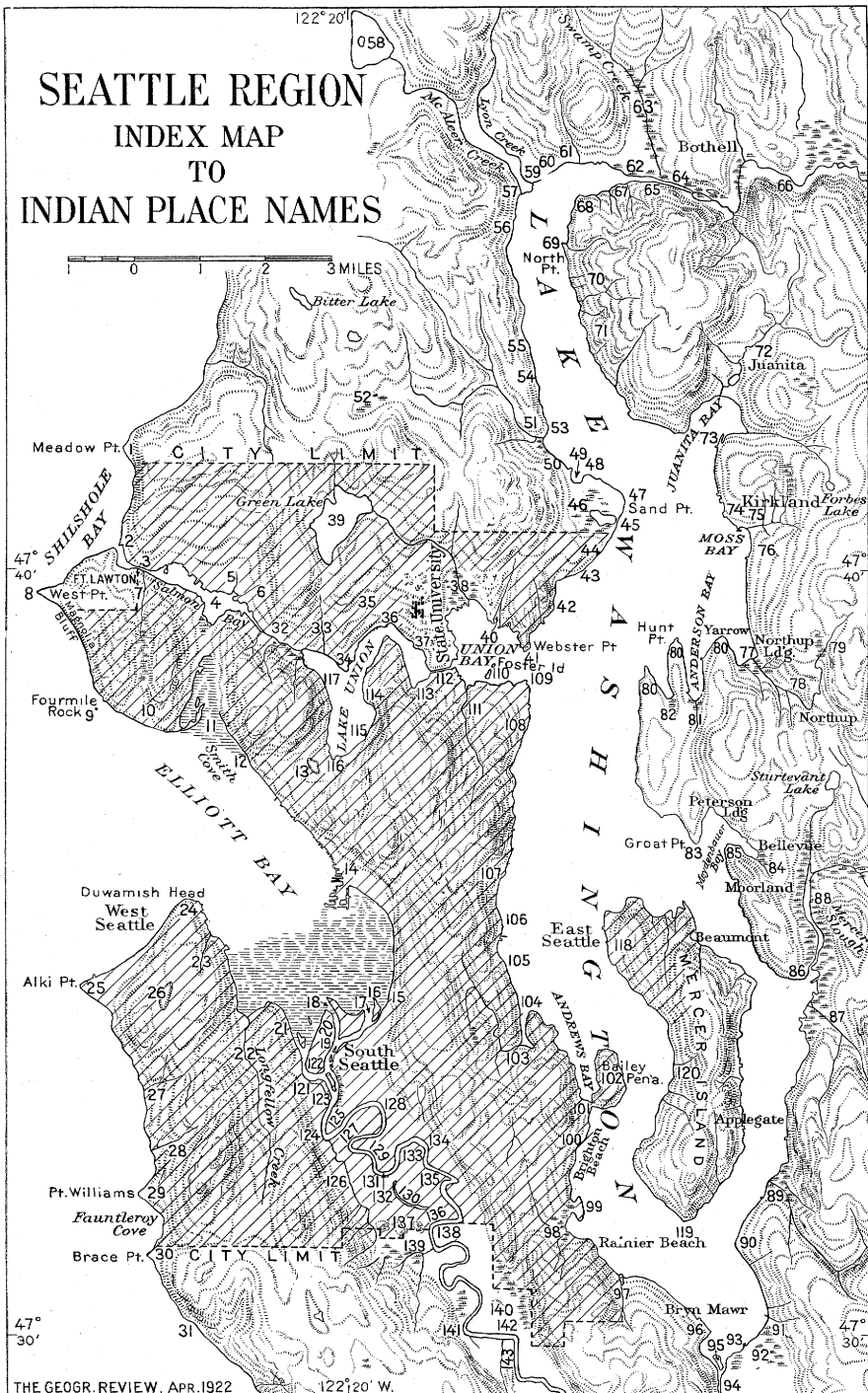


FIG. 1—Key map to Indian place names in the neighborhood of Seattle. Numbers have reference to the names discussed in the Appendix. The shaded area represents the approximate limits of the city of Seattle. The map (scale 1 : 170,000) is based on the U. S. Geological Survey's topographic sheets, Snohomish and Tacoma quadrangles.

One place was an echoing cliff where they shouted out questions about the future, i. e. a place of religious interest; another place was a camas meadow—here the interest is purely dietary, camas being an edible root; another was a place where several trails crossed; and another where passers-by carried out certain observances, i. e. a place of ceremonial interest; but meanwhile they had no name for the mountain *as a whole*. I traveled once on foot for three days toward a great promontory, which, I understood, was called Cu'mig ("Patrick's Point"). When I got there I found that Cu'mig was merely a shelving rock on the side of a promontory.

The Indians of Puget Sound have no names for the Sound, as a body of water, except xwaltc, "salt water," which term they also apply to the Pacific Ocean. I doubt if the Sound ever obtruded itself as a unit into their con-



FIG. 2—The rocks off the extreme tip of Cape Flattery, Washington. These rocks are nothing more than shelving ledges, pounded by a boisterous sea, but they all have their names. The one in the background is called Aawa'tu, or "bald eagle." These birds used to perch on this rock, watching for herring. (Photograph copyrighted by Asahel Curtis.)

sciousness. One of the most conspicuous features of the Sound is a large expanse of land known as Bainbridge Island, lying opposite Seattle. The Indians of Bainbridge Island and of the adjacent shores had no name that I can discover for Bainbridge Island itself. They had, however, upward of three hundred names for different places *on* the island. I have recorded nearly a hundred of them myself. If an Indian in a canoe were "headed," as he would say, for Bainbridge Island and were asked where he was going, he would in reply name the *spot* where he proposed to land. Another striking feature of the Sound is an extraordinary number of narrow inlets. In one place near Olympia an observer in a boat can look into seven inlets at once, raying out like the spokes of a wheel. These inlets have no Indian names. The Indians of Dye's Inlet have, as far as I can discover, no name for the inlet (this is near Bremerton; often called Port Washington). They have



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

FIG. 3—A view of Cape Flattery and the village at Neah Bay. There is a marked contrast, as regards the occurrence of names, between the hills which cause this cape to loom so large and the sea-rocks lying around its base. Only two of the mountains have names: "Trees scattered" and "Cranberries" (CELce'yus and Papple'stao's, in the local dialect). (Photograph copyrighted by Asahel Curtis.)

FIG. 4—The cliffs at Cape Flattery, with Flattery Light in the distance, at the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The great crag in the picture is named Fuca's Pillar, after the famous pilot: its Indian name is Tsatsada'x, "standing rock." (Photograph copyrighted by Asahel Curtis.)

a desperately rough series of vocables, Sxaqt, which serves in a general way as a designation of direction thitherward but is really the name of an important Indian village site on the inlet. This site lies on a sand spit east of the town of Silverdale. I have been at Sxaqt and have walked over the site, and it is not more than one eighth of an acre in extent. The Indians had no occasion, it seems, to refer to the harbor as a whole.

I may here stop to remark on the broad significance of this characteristic. Compared with analogous instances among other primitive peoples it appears as an interesting reflex of primitive modes of thought and expression.⁸ One may perhaps regard it as a cultural index to some degree. Churchill speaks of "the abundance of minute place names and the almost total absence of designation for the larger geography of islands and archipelagoes" in the South Pacific.⁹ Extreme examples of this sort of thing are found among the Melanesians. Polynesians and Micronesians have reached the stage of naming their own individual islands while the Samoans have gone as far as acquiring a "national and archipelagic designation."

MEANINGS OF INDIAN PLACE NAMES

Another difference between our nomenclature and that of the Indian is seen in the nature of the names which the Indian applies to his topography. A good deal of time and effort has been expended in inventing outright rather mawkish terms, which are styled place names and ascribed to the Indian. Thus, some one has put down Mt. Rainier as having an Indian name meaning "nourishing bosom," and this "on account of the numerous streams which spring from the glaciers." "Home of the Winds" is applied to a second peak. As a matter of fact, neither of these terms bears inquiry for a moment; I never found an Indian who recognized them, nor have I ever recorded any Indian place names at all analogous to them. This, however, is not to say that the Indian lacks poetry in his make-up. He has the poetic instinct and along with it an appreciation of beauty, ranging from that of basket designs to that of majestic scenery. But his "poetry" does not take the form of far-fetched metaphor nor clothe itself in weak and transparent allegory. Nor does the Indian sentimentalize over the scenery.

The actual place names used by the Indian, as far as those which I have obtained may be considered as evidence, are of a totally different character from those I have just mentioned. The vast bulk of his names are descriptive and commonplace. For example, a thing he is intensely interested in is food, having a distinct resemblance in this respect to ourselves. Our food, however, comes to us so easily and regularly, as the result

⁸ Compare J. R. L. Kingon: A Survey of Aboriginal Place-Names, *South African Journ. of Sci.*, Vol. 15, 1918-19, pp. 712-779. Treating of this feature of native place names in South Africa he says: "Everyone who has had any insight into the Native mind and method will be familiar with the immense detail which burdens their narratives of even simple events—and, naturally, this immense detail is to be reckoned with in any study of the place-names, for the smallest of places seems to have its name" (p. 713).

⁹ William Churchill: Geographical Nomenclature of American Samoa, *Bull. Amer. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. 45, 1913, pp. 187-193; reference on p. 187.

of our economic and industrial system, that we have to take no direct thought concerning it. Not so with the Indian. He lived on a plane where economic security was undreamed of, and, after breakfast was over and the "things cleared up," luncheon became usually a matter of the greatest moment and the liveliest concern. It is not astonishing, therefore, to find

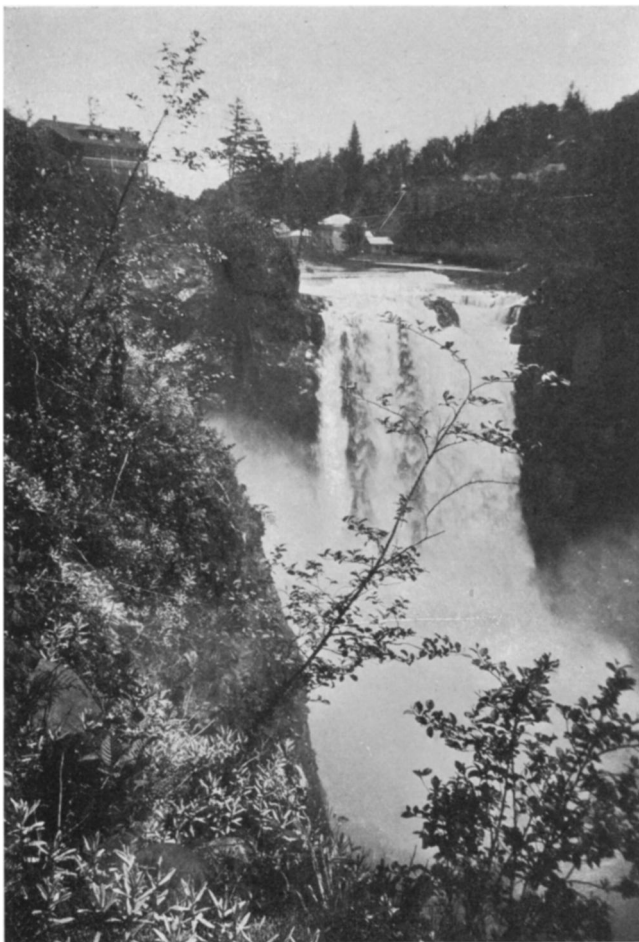


FIG. 5—Snoqualmie Falls, Washington. The river plunges with wild abandon into a rocky caldron, amid a fury of sound and a storm of spray. The bottom of the falls the Indian calls simply Sqwud, or "below part." The rim of rock over which the river leaps he calls SkaLdaL, the word for a person's upper lip.

that a large number of Indian geographical names bear directly on his food supply. Names like "Dog-salmon place" for an inlet or "Wild-potato place" for a meadow are part of the prevailing mode in place names. A very large item in his geographical psychology is the grounds where materials are obtained for technologic processes. "Cedar place" and "Where-they-slide-

planks-down-from-the-hillside" are examples. Along with these commonplace terms, place names famous for their mythological significance are very frequent, associated closely with spots sacred to supernatural beings—spots particularly where various taboos are to be observed. I have in mind, for example, a certain big rock on the Klamath River, in front of which no woman or corpse is allowed to pass in a canoe. The rock (or the being who dwells in it) will not permit such familiarity. Women walk, and corpses are carried, on the *landward* side of this rock and re-embark in the canoe out of eyeshot. There are a number of such boulders along the Klamath, and each one has its own proper name. At Bremerton, Wash., near the great Puget Sound Naval Station, is a small rock called Xa'xE', "forbidden." No canoe may run aground on this rock. If that should occur, the occupants would soon die—unless, perchance, they know the proper song to sing. This song, in my own orthography,¹⁰ is as follows:

LatL'a'xtcEda'l tis wat'i'tid
gwEla hōi yahaL

"I will continue to grow in this world
Then it will be good for me!"

In a list of Indian place names there are likely to be hundreds of this character. Often the rocks and other topographic features which figure in the myths are to our eyes most unimpressive, while places impressive to us often remain nameless. For example, the state of Washington boasts one of the finest cascades imaginable, Snoqualmie Falls. A considerable river leaps out over a bluff and descends into a chasm with thundering reverberation and a cloud of mist. One would certainly suppose that the neighborhood would be a place of more or less mystery and awe. I own I expected to encounter something very impressive in the way of names when I asked what the falls were called. The place where the water descends, where the thunder of its fall is loudest, is called Sqwud, which means "underneath" or "below." The upper part, where the waters take their leap, is called SkaLdaL, or "lip." Here, in the most romantic surroundings, Indian nomenclature is most laconic and matter-of-fact. On the other hand, the Indian is often affected by very commonplace objects. I was told that a certain region along the shore south of Seattle was "mysterious." The Indians never went there; they never even looked in that direction. This was because there was a certain wonderful rock there, it seemed, that shed its potent influence over the whole landscape far and wide. If any one looked at it, he became twisted! His head, from the power of the rock, would twist right around on his neck, and so on. The very Indians who told me about the boulder had themselves never seen it because they were unwilling to go near it. It turned out that this boulder was not more than four feet high—a most ordinary-looking red stone; and I could not help wondering

¹⁰ For the values see Appendix, p. 187.

in what quaint and curious way and by what strange psychological twist its reputation for the marvelous had become established and spread abroad.

The examination of Indian local names opens up most interesting material in the way of folklore, and we have in myths and religious sentiments an important source of Indian geographical names. A certain number of Indian places get their names from the accidental resemblance of rocks or other natural objects to living creatures. The resemblance in such cases is seldom striking, the barest suggestion of a resemblance often seeming remarkable to the Indian's mind. But such origins are relatively rare. I have recorded "resembling a bosom," "standing like a person," and "elk, similar-to" among others. However, the place names that contain the stem "elk" or refer to the elk usually indicate the actual presence there of the animal in question and not to a myth about it, or anything in its contour.

The repeated use of a given geographic name is characteristic of the Indians, as of ourselves. In our own maps of the various states or counties, the number of Pine Creeks and Mill Creeks and Rock Creeks and Deer Creeks and bald and meaningless town names ending in -ville is almost appalling. Similarly there are certain geographic names which are very popular among the Indians. In the region of Puget Sound the most popular name contains the stem *ba'kwob*, which means "prairie," or open place among the trees. It occurs in a number of forms—*Ba'kwob*, *Baba'kwob*, *Ba'qbaqwob*, *BEbqwa'bEbs*, *SbEqwa'bEqs*. Another stem which recurs very often is *bul*, which means "to boil." Thus we find *Bul'äts*, a place in a bend of Port Washington harbor where springs issue forth on the beach; *Ba'IE'q*, a bog near the Dwamish River with a spring in the center of it; *BE'lspidop*, a place in the river where the water boils up; *BElqks*, "boiling promontory," a place near Bremerton where the tide rips boil around the tip of a point; and a place called *Bu'lbul'Ets* in Quartermaster Harbor where there are several springs on the beach. All of these contain the same stem.

The actual statistics concerning the various sorts of names used by the people of one specific area on Puget Sound may serve as an example of primitive nomenclature.

<i>Place Names Consisting of:</i>	<i>Number of Such Names</i>
Descriptive terms	202
References to mythical episodes	67
References to animals	35
References to the food supply	34
References to human activities	33
References to plants	24
Unclassified terms	49
Untranslated terms	137

There is obviously some overlapping among the above categories. For example, the term "Food supply" includes certain items which might also go under the term "Animals." The list shows clearly, however, a pre-

dominance of descriptive terms and mythological allusions. The descriptive terms consist of a great variety of expressions. Some of them have reference to parts of the body, based on real or fancied resemblance in configuration; others consist of expressions such as "curled about," or "thrust out," or "sand spit projecting out under a headland," or "abounding in miry places."

INDIAN PLACE NAMES ABOUT SEATTLE

In order to illustrate the large number of Indian place names found in a region and to give some impression of the Indian's psychology and the way in which terms are applied, I have selected for reproduction a small portion of a map showing the Indian names for places on the eastern side of Puget Sound. The area is just in and about the city of Seattle. The actual topography is very interesting, and the spot is doubly interesting because of the great city which has grown up there. The Indian names obtained are given as an Appendix to this article.¹¹

From our own standpoint, the Indian's conception of the size of the world is startlingly inadequate. In southern California I obtained from a Diegueño Indian a sketch of the universe as he knew it, including the mountains which lie on the uttermost rim of things. His world was inclosed between four peaks, Mt. San Bernardino, Mt. San Jacinto, Coronado Island, lying just off of San Diego harbor, and a mysterious mountain on the lower Colorado River. Thus his world was a disk only about two hundred miles across. The Yuroks in northern California were not quite so cramped. They knew of a lot of mythical regions beyond the sky, while the expanse they were actually acquainted with in a geographic sense was limited practically to the five counties of Del Norte, Humboldt, Siskiyou, Trinity, and Shasta.¹² The Indians on Puget Sound had a still larger outlook, being a seafaring people and somewhat widely traveled; but even they place the boundaries of the horizon within twenty days' journey. The old Indians I have talked with knew in a way of the city of Washington, because the President and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs live there; and of Chicago and St. Louis, because they send their furs there for market; but the older people, at least, have no idea of the distance from the Pacific Coast to these places. All of these people picture the earth as flat and the sky as a solid vault overhead.

Geographical concepts certainly have undergone a very remarkable development. The concept which seems the simplest and most obvious, such as giving the whole of a district, or the whole of a mountain-range, one name, has actually been, like the concept of the real size of our world and its sphericity, the result of long evolution.

¹¹ Another author, Costello (in the *Siwash*, Seattle, 1895), has given a brief list of native names in this neighborhood.

¹² See the diagram illustrating the Yurok idea of the world reproduced in the *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 10, 1920, p. 414.

Appendix

The names in the Seattle area, as obtained by myself, are written out in the phonetic orthography used by ethnologists. A special way of writing Indian words is rendered necessary by the fact that the Salish dialect spoken at Seattle has many sounds which do not occur in English. Briefly, in the names here printed the ordinary vowels have their European value. The symbol "E" has the sound of "u" in "but;" "L" is a surd "l;" "q" is a velar, or "back," "k;" "c" has the value of English "sh;" "tc" has the value of "ch" in "church;" "x" the value of "ch" in Scottish "loch;" the apostrophe (') is a glottal stop. In connection with pronunciation consonants marked ! are exploded, and ' is a stress accent, as in English. Open vowels are marked with a breve (˘). Letters printed above the line indicate sounds which are imperfectly articulated.

The numbers printed in front of these names indicate position on the map, where they are entered in the proper order beginning at the northwestern corner.

NAMES OF PLACES ON THE SHORE OF PUGET SOUND NEAR SEATTLE

1. Meadow Point, a sandy promontory north of the Ballard District, Seattle: Qe'L^ebEd. The word suggests Qe'lbid, "canoe."
2. A very minute promontory, barely visible on the map, at the northern side of the entrance to Salmon Bay in the Ballard District, Seattle: Tce'dkedad, "lying curled on a pillow." The name refers to the shape of the spit, which is curled about on itself, owing to the wash of the tides at that point. There were formerly many clams here.
3. The narrow opening which leads into Salmon Bay: Cilco'l-utsid, "mouth of Ci'lcol" (see below).
4. Salmon Bay: Ci'lcol, "shoving a thread through a bead;" "threading or inserting something." The Indians used to paddle in from the Sound and traverse the length of this inlet on their way to Lake Washington. The name refers to the way in which this narrow estuary invades the shore line. Costello gives for Salmon Bay "Shul-shale, the name of a tribe." He is very much misled in this matter. The tribe were the Cilcol-a'bc or "Shilsholamish," "dwellers on Shilshole." It is noteworthy that the word Shilshole, which is a transcription in ordinary spelling of the Indian name, still appears on the map, but it has drifted down with the tide, so to speak, and has now come to rest in the waters outside of the "heads," which are the Shilshole Bay of recent published maps.
5. A very small creek entering the northern side of Salmon Bay: Bitida'kt, "a kind of supernatural power." This "power" enabled one to journey to the underworld and recover souls from the land of the dead. The performances and paraphernalia of the ceremony have often been described; for example, by Dorsey, in the *Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, and by Haeberlin, in the *Amer. Anthropologist*.
6. A still smaller creek than the above, entering the same tiny inlet: Qw'lula'stab, "a small bush with white flowers and black berries." This is not the dogwood, as might seem likely, but some other plant.
7. A creek which drains down a straight gully into the southern side of Salmon Bay from the neighborhood of Fort Lawton: Hwiwa'iq, said to mean "large; having lots of water."
8. West Point, a promontory ending in an elongated sand spit: Pka'dzEltcu, "thrust far out." This cape lies just north of Seattle harbor, or Elliott Bay. The stem is *paLkt*, "to thrust ahead," or "to push one's way through brush," for example. It is also used of leaves "pushing out" in the spring. The terms refers to the way in which the point seems to thrust itself forward into the Sound. Costello gives Per-co-dus-chule, not translated.

9. Four-mile Rock: LE'plEpL. The rock in question is a great boulder standing in the water at the foot of Magnolia Bluff. Its name was also recorded in the form La'pub. Another name, Tc!ě'tla, which is sometimes used, means simply "rock;" "boulder." A myth recounts that an ancient hero named Sta'kub could take a gigantic dragnet made of cedar and hazel branches and throw it over this rock while standing himself on the distant beach.

10. A small creek draining down a gully from Fort Lawton: TLo'xwatL-qo, "land-otter water." This creek flowed only in wet weather. The gully is now occupied by a paved road.

11. Mouth of the creek draining into Smith Cove: Sila'qwotsid, said to mean "talking."

12. A creek formerly entering the Sound south of Smith Cove: T!E'kEp, "an aerial net for snaring ducks." It is said that ducks which were "started up" on Lake Union would always fly over the low place between Queen Anne Hill and the business district of Seattle. Duck snares were accordingly set at this point. It is also said to have been used by the Indians as a camping place.

13. An open space, or series of spaces, in the forest which formerly grew north of what is now the business district of Seattle: Baba'kwob, "prairies" (*ba'kwob*, "prairie"). The earliest white settlement at this point was called Belltown. It lay just north of the present water front with its wharves.

14. A village site in Seattle: Djidjil'itc, a diminutive, meaning "a little place where one crosses over." At this point there formerly extended a little promontory with a lagoon behind it. On the promontory were a few trees, and behind this clump of trees a trail led from the beach over to the lagoon; hence the name. Indian villages existed on each side of this point and flounders were plentiful in the lagoon. This is exactly where the King Street Station now stands. The term for this spot is now applied by Indians to the whole city.

15. A little "spit," or beach, at the edge of the easternmost of the mouths of the Dwamish River: Tux'pa'ctEb.

16. A small promontory on an island: Těta'lks. The place is said to have been used as a lookout point by the Indians, who built a stockade here.

17. A slough passing to the south of the above: Slu'wiL. The term means literally "a perforation for a canoe." The word *slu* is applied, for example, to the holes bored to test the thickness of a canoe hull. In the present case the word refers to a grassy marsh intersected with channels, into and through which canoes can be pushed. The term was also defined to me as "a short cut;" "a canoe pass."

18. The largest of the branches into which Dwamish River divides at its mouth: XwEq!, "slough."

19. A place on the western shore of the above slough: Q!ulq'lula'di, "shaggy," "tangled." The stem *qul* means "bad," "brushy." A lot of fir "snags" or "stubs" (that is tree trunks with the roots attached) drifted in here and lodged, masking the shore so that no one could land.

20. Harbor Island, a flat surrounded by watercourses, and rather marshy: Ts!E'kas, "muddy." An old informant, George Si'towaL, lived in a float house here with his aged wife until in the year 1920 they starved to death.

21. An old village site on the western bank of the Dwamish, at the foot of the bluff: Tul'a'lt^u, "herring's house."

22. Longfellow Creek, draining into Young's Cove, in West Seattle: Tua'wi, "trout."

23. A trickle of water draining down a little gully near Luna Park in West Seattle: Cuxu'tsE'xud, "something to split with."

24. Dwamish Head: SqwEdqs, "promontory at the foot of something" (*sqwEd*, "the under part of anything;" *qs*, "promontory"). The name is descriptive of the sand spit which juts forward from the foot of an abrupt overbeetling headland, once heavily timbered. Costello gives the name Squ-ducks for this place, translating it "promontory."

25. Alki Point: SbEkwa'b^Eqs, "prairies" (*ba'kwob*, "prairie"), so named because the flat, sandy promontory, which juts out half a mile from the shore line, had among the trees many open places.

26. A depression a mile or more inland from Dwamish Head: Tux'qo'tEb. This lies on top of the plateau and was once a cranberry swamp.

27. A small creek south of Alki Point: T!E'sbEd, "a winter house" (*t!as*, "cold"). The reason for giving this name to the place I do not know. There was a brickyard here some years ago.

28. Another small creek, south of the preceding: GwEl, "to capsize."

29. Point Williams: Tcixha'idus, "crowded," "tight."

30. Brace Point: Psaiya'hus, "horned snake." This promontory was considered to be the abode of one of these monsters. They were regarded with supernatural dread. They take the form of an enormous snake, having, according to some accounts, the antlers and forelegs of a deer. At the base of this promontory is a big reddish boulder weighing half a ton or more. It was formerly believed that anyone looking at this boulder would become twisted into a knot. The boulder itself was believed to change its form. Certain people had this boulder for a supernatural helper.

31. A bend, or cove, south of Brace Point: T^ukwa'sus, "scorching the face." There is a gravel pit here now.

NAMES OF PLACES ON LAKE UNION AND LAKE WASHINGTON

The author already mentioned, Costello, gives two curious words for the names of these two lakes. He says that the name for Lake Washington is At-kow-chug, meaning "large body of fresh water," while for Lake Union he gives the name Kah-chug, which he translates "lake." As a matter of fact these two expressions are forms of the same word, though from our author's way of transcribing them one would hardly suspect it. The word for Lake Washington is Xa'tcu, which is simply a word for "lake." This is the one spelled "At-kow-chug" by Costello. To form the name for Lake Union, the Indians insert a "glottal stop" in this word, which makes a diminutive of it and gives the form Xa'tcu. This closely resembles the other word but means "little lake." Used as a name for Lake Union, it is the term written by Costello "Kah-chug." His remarks are therefore an indirect approximation to the truth. Lake Sammamish, which is east of Lake Washington, the Indians call Xa'tcxatcu, which also means a small lake but one not quite so small as a Xa'tcu.

32. A place on Lake Union, where an outlet drains into Salmon Bay: Gwa'xwop, "outlet." The stream flowing in this channel now supplies the locks of the Government Canal.

33. A small creek, just east of the railroad bridge in the Ballard District, Seattle: Ctcīwa't-qo, "place where one whips the water." The people used to hit the water with sticks to drive fish into the narrow brook, where they were easily captured.

34. A promontory jutting into Lake Union from its northern shore: Stē'tciL, "a prop." It looks, say my informants, as though it were "leaning against" the opposite shore. This promontory is now occupied by a gas plant.

35. A "prairie," or open space, near Lake Union: Ba'qwob. This was at the northern abutment of the Latona bridge, in the city of Seattle.

36. A small creek entering Lake Union just east of the Latona bridge: Waql'e'qlab (waql'e'q!, "frog").

37. A tiny promontory jutting into Lake Union, where the boathouse of the University Boat Club now stands: Sqwitsqs, "little promontory."

38. The marsh lying between Laurel Point and the buildings of the University of Washington: SLuwi'L, "perforation for a canoe." The term refers to the fact that the marsh was intersected with channels into which a canoe could be thrust. The creek which enters the bay through this swamp flows out of Green Lake through a conduit into Ravenna Park. A large aboriginal fish trap made of piles formerly stood in this bay. Its ruins are said to have been exposed some years ago when the level of the lake was lowered by the digging of a canal.

39. Green Lake: D^utLě'c. This lake furnished quantities of suckers and perch, which were taken in basket traps. Salmon also entered the lake by the creek mentioned just above.

40. A little cove on the western side of Laurel Point: A'did, an exclamation translated "Dear me!" The spot was formerly the property of a certain Joe Somers and previously to that had been set aside as a camping place for Indians.

41. Laurel Point: Cebu'tu, "dry." This promontory is now called "Webster Point" on the maps and is styled "Whiskey Point" by Indian informants.
42. The shore of Lake Washington, north of Laurel Point: Tu'tsa'xwub, "beating." A fine cliff here, overshadowed with heavy timber, overhangs the beach.
43. A spot on the beach north of the preceding: T!lels, "minnows," or "shiners." These are otherwise called tomcod, I believe.
44. A flat open area without timber, south of Sand Point: BEbqwa'bEks, "prairies" (cf. ba'kwob, "prairie").
45. A little channel which drains a pond south of Sand Point: Tc'laa'Lqo, "channel," "watercourse." There is a myth which refers to this channel, but I could not obtain the details.
46. The pond at Sand Point: Wisa'lpEbc.
47. Sand Point, an extensive promontory, very level: Sq'wsEb.
48. The northern shore of Sand Point: T'luda'xEda, a plant with small, inedible white berries.
49. Cove at the inner end of the promontory: Sla'gwElagwEts, literally "cedar bark, where it grows."
50. The shore north of the preceding: XwExwi'yaqwais, said to mean "pulling on a line which is made fast to something."
51. A creek north of Sand Point: Tu'xu'bid.
52. A cranberry marsh lying some three miles from the lake shore: SLo'q!qed, "bald head." This marsh is drained by one branch of the creek just mentioned.
53. A little promontory: Tsixtsix-a'tu, "eagles' house." There is the nest of an eagle (*tsistsis*) in a tree on this point.
54. A place on the lake shore, at the edge of a bluff: Xwiyaqwa'di-a'tu, "thunderbird's house." The mythical fowls which are supposed to cause thunderstorms by clapping their wings and winking their eyes were believed to nest here in the trees.
55. A very "dangerous" place at the edge of the lake: StL!Epqs, "deep promontory." People swimming here were formerly "taken away" by something supernatural.
56. An enormous boulder on the lake shore: Bs'tcë'tla, "rock."
57. The mouth of McAleer Creek: Sla'tsutsid, "mouth of sla'tsu." (See No. 58.)
58. McAleer Lake: Sla'tsu, "face."
59. A small creek: Sts!kE'l, "a certain small bird."
60. A spot where a sawmill stands, at the northern end of Lake Washington: Sta'tabEb, "lots of people talking."
61. A small creek: Tcë'tca'L.
62. A level flat at the mouth of Swamp Creek: Ts!Ebta'tu, "elderberry's house" (*ts'abi*, "elderberry").
63. Swamp Creek: TuLq!a'b, variously translated. The word Lq!ab means "the bark of a dog." Another informant said that the present term means "the other side of something," like the opposite surface of a log.
64. An old village site on the northern shore of the lake, at its head, near where the Sammamish River enters: TL!ahwa'dis, "something growing or sprouting." According to informants dwelling on the Sound the people here were "poor."
65. Where Sammamish River enters Lake Washington: Cxa'tcugwEs, "where the lake becomes elongated." The expression refers to the way in which the lake at its northern end gradually narrows into a long estuary.
66. Squawk Slough, otherwise known as Sammamish River: sts!ap, "crooked," "meandering." This stream was originally crooked almost past belief. It has now been dredged out and straightened, so that mill logs can be floated through it from the lake above. The people living here were called the sts!apa'bc, "meander dwellers," anglicized as "Sammamish." This name for the people has now been applied to the lake and the river.
67. Peterson's Point: Qwai'tëd, said to mean "across." This is a headland lying south of the mouth of Sammamish River.

68. A small promontory: Xwi'alad^{xu}, "niggardly," "scanty." It was difficult to catch fish at this place; whence the name.
69. North Point: U'a's, "gravel rattling down." Gravel continuously rolls down from this promontory.
70. A spot on the eastern shore of Lake Washington, south of the preceding: Li'lsku.
71. An open space near the present town of Juanita: Tcě'tcubEd.
72. The creek at Juanita: TE'btubi^u, "loamy place" (tE'b^u, "earth," "loam").
73. Nelson Point: Leqa'bt, translated "paint." The term means literally "something gathered or scooped up with the fingers." Material called "rust" by my informants (evidently ochre) was scraped from a cliff at this point and baked in a bonfire. The reddest portions were then picked out and used for face paint.
74. The beach north of the town of Kirkland: Wicqab-al't^u.
75. A water channel on the hillside north of the town of Kirkland: Tse'xub, "dripping water."
76. The site of the town of Kirkland: Sta'LaL.
77. The mouth of Northup Creek, south of Kirkland: Tc!u'tsid, "mouth of Tc!u." (See below.)
78. Northup Creek: Tclu.
79. A swamp at the head of Northup Creek: Txwa'bats, "pulling something toward one."
80. Three promontories with narrow inlets between: "SLi^uLi'uqs, "three promontories" (*Llux*, "three"). The promontories are Hunt Point, Fairweather Point, and a third which has no name in English.
81. A small creek at the head of Anderson's Bay: Tca'bqwEsEbEts.
82. A small marsh at the head of the inlet west of the above: DE'q!tus.
83. Groat Point, near Peterson's Landing: CtcE'gwus, "place where a trail descends into the water."
84. A little creek at head of Meydenbauer Inlet: TLhai'si, named for a certain species of fish. This fish, called *tLhais*, has a stripe on the side and is very bony. They "ran" in great numbers at this point.
85. A promontory south of Meydenbauer Inlet: Lcwild.
86. A promontory west of Mercer Slough: TL!utsa'lus, "tying a mesh."
87. Coal Creek: SqE'bEqsid.
88. Mercer Slough: Sa'tsakaL, "water at head of a bay," an old village site.
89. May Creek: Cbal't^u, "place where things are dried." Great quantities of redfish were taken at this point.
90. A small promontory: Kwa'kwau.
91. A place opposite the south end of Mercer Island, at the foot of Lake Washington: P!E'swi, "pressed back;" "crowded back."
92. Marshes at the south end of Lake Washington, to the east of Black River: Spa'pLxad, "marshes." The word was given to me also in the form Spapa'pLxad, "several little marshes."
93. A little promontory on the lake shore at the middle of the marshy flats just mentioned: Tu'ci'tsabd^u, "to thrust or shove," especially to shove one's canoe into the brush.
94. Where Black River flows out of Lake Washington: Ciqe'd, "head," or "source." This is "the place from which Black River starts," whence the name.
95. A place near the head of Black River (probably the small island there): Tcitic!o'yaq^w.
96. An old village site at a place now called Bryn Mawr: SExt!i'tcib, "place where one wades."
97. A small creek north of Bryn Mawr: Tsi'ptsip, "ducklings." The term means literally "something which emits a squeak or peep."
98. A creek draining into an inlet north of Ranier Beach: Tuxwöo'kwib, "loon." Surrounding this inlet there is a deep swamp or marsh where loons nested.
99. A promontory, separated from the mainland by the marsh just mentioned: TLi'Ltcus, "small island." It lies west of the south end of Mercer Island.

100. Brighton Beach: Xaxao'LtC, "taboo;" "forbidden." Some supernatural monster lived at this point.

101. The isthmus connecting Bailey Peninsula with the mainland: Cka'lapsEb, "the upper part of one's neck." It is employed regularly in the sense of "isthmus."

102. Bailey Peninsula, especially its northern end: SkEba'kst, "nose" (bE'ksid, "nostril").

103. A creek emptying into Wetmore Slough: Sqa'tsid, "choked-up mouth;" *astqo'tsid* is the expression for closing a door, or blocking up an opening. A lot of snags here blocked up the mouth of the creek. The place was at one time a hopyard. Silver salmon formerly frequented this creek.

104. Wetmore Slough (or place on the shore of the slough): Ska'bo, "nipple," or "milk."

105. A place on the lake shore, opposite the northern end of Mercer Island: Saiya'hos, "horned snake." This is an enormous supernatural monster which lived at this point on the shore.

106. A place slightly north of the preceding: Hwoqwe'yE-qwaiEks, "rushes used for a certain kind of matting." This rush, the name for which was given to me in the form sqwe'-qwats, is smaller than the cat-tail.

107. A place near Yesler Park: Bisti'Exqle'u. This word was untranslated; but it suggested to one of my informants *stikla'iyu*, "wolf." The water is very deep here.

108. Madison Park, at the end of the Madison Street cable line: XëtL, "where one chops." I do not know the reason for the name.

109. The southernmost of the two promontories forming Union Bay: Biskwi'kwiL, "skate." This point of land is very level and is turned up at the tip, resembling the nose of a skate.

110. Foster Island, a small island in Union Bay: Sti'titci, diminutive of stE'tci, "island." This island was formerly used as a graveyard. The Indians of this part of America formerly hoisted their dead into the trees. My informants can remember when the trees here were full of boxes with skeletons in them. The lashings of these boxes gave way from time to time, and the ground was covered with bones which had rattled down from above.

111. A creek entering Union Bay from the south: Sta'LaL (*staL*, "fathom;" "stretch of the arms"). I do not know the reason for this name.

112. A place where there was formerly "portage" from Lake Washington to Lake Union: Sxwa'tsugwiL. The stem means "to lift up." The suffix, -gwiL, is well known in the Salish dialects and means "with reference to a canoe." The whole name means "where one lifts his canoe." Costello gives this term as "Squaltz-quilth," not translated. At this point the Indians, and after them the early settlers, carried their boats from one lake to the other. The path which they followed was just south of where the present canal is cut. I am informed that a little creek drained out of Lake Washington, up which the boats were pushed as far as they could be made to go.

113. The flats at the southern end of the bight in Lake Union, facing the University campus: Spa'Lxad, "marsh," "wet flats."

114. A place on the shore of Lake Union, opposite the present site of the gas works: Sxwuba'bats, "place where jumping occurred." A number of house boats are now moored along the water front here. One informant explained that the water front here was encumbered with logs over which one had to jump.

115. A place just south of the preceding: StLëp, "deep." The beach here is very abrupt.

116. A place at the southern end of Lake Union: Ctca'q'cid, "where a trail descends to the water." At this point an old trail from Seattle harbor came down the hill to Lake Union. This is where the pioneer sawmill stood, belonging to David Denny ("Dabe Duddy" according to the Indian pronunciation of his name).

117. A bluff at the foot of Lake Union on the southern shore: TL!pe'lgwiL, "deep for canoes."

118. East Seattle, a district on the northern end of Mercer Island: TsEktsEk'la'bats, "where gooseberry bushes grow." The particular locality named herein is the site of the old Proctor Ranch. Wild roses were formerly plentiful here.

119. South Point, the southernmost promontory of Mercer Island: La'gwitsatEb, "taking off;" "stripping." An old man once went to this place in a canoe to get bark from the dead trees. The influences there caused him to become "crazy," however, and he had to go away. There were supernatural beings there, called *swa'wati'itid*, "earth beings," living in the old stumps. Removing the bark from the stumps, therefore, was like removing clothing from a person. The Indians were afraid to go to the spot after that.

120. A place on the western shore of Mercer Island: Q!oq!o'btsi, "water lilies," a plant with a large yellow flower.

NAMES OF PLACES ALONG DWAMISH RIVER

121. An old village site on the western bank of the river: Yile'q!ud, said to mean a basket cap such as that worn by the Yakima people.

122. A spot at the southern end of Harbor Island: Ska'bk!abEb, "backwater where there is no current."

123. A level flat on the western side of the Dwamish: Xo'lxolpli, "grassy place."

124. A spot on the western side of the Dwamish, where a bend in the river washes the foot of the bluffs: Tkba'le, "spot where they place an aerial net for trapping ducks."

125. A point of land on the eastern side of the river: TcE'btEbId, "fir trees on the ground." People went there to get dry bark for fuel.

126. A small creek entering the Dwamish from the west: Ta'litic, "a frame for drying fish."

127. A slough cutting across a point: TatL!qe'd, "head of the short cut." At high tide the Indians made a short cut through a channel here in going up the river in their canoes.

128. A bank or cliff on the eastern side of the Dwamish: Bia'ptEb, "ground dropping down" (*bia'p*, "to fall"). Material is continually falling from the bank here.

129. A place below Georgetown: Ts!kwa'lad, "forked house post." The river forms curves suggesting the shape of this timber (see map).

130. A small channel across a flat on the western side of the river: Lwalb, "abandoned." It is an old river channel, the river having changed its course.

131. A place where there were numerous tree trunks and dead timber: T!a/Lt!aLusid, translated "where there is something overhead across the path." The term in its literal sense signifies the crossbeams in the roof of a house.

132. A place on the western bank of the river: Hutcsa'tci, "hand cut in two." Several legends cluster around this spot, and the Indians call it a "bad place," meaning that supernatural beings lurk here. Once some people were passing this spot in a canoe, going up river. They were conversing about the name. "I wonder why this place has the name 'hand-cut-in-two,'" said one of them. A hand suddenly rose up out of the river, the fingers of which were cut off. The hand stood up by the boat, and the supernatural being down in the river spoke. "*That* is why," was all that he said. The people, of course, were terrified.

At the time when the Transformer came two men were fighting here. He turned one of them into a large cottonwood tree on the western bank, which still shoots sparks occasionally at its ancient enemy—a big white fir across the river. One of my informants once, on a pitch-dark night, saw sparks passing back and forth across the river!

133. A large flat in a bend of the river: T^uqwe'Ltid, "a large open space;" "a plain." A village stood here.

134. A place where a lot of material caved down on a trail: TEtc!gwEs, "a brace or upright supporting a rafter." I fancy that the name came from some tree trunks involved in the landslide.

135. A narrow promontory about which the river makes a sharp turn: Cka'lapsEb, "neck." This was formerly an open place where they got camas (lily bulbs) for food.

136. A place on a wide flat, near the head of the old river channel mentioned above: Hwa'pitcid, "where one throws something." I do not know the reason for the name.

137. A place where there are three symmetrical knolls on an extensive flat, on the western side of the river, in South Park: Qiyawa'lapsEb. The name suggests "eel's throat" to one of

my informants (*quya'u*, "eel"). The largest knoll is surmounted now by a Catholic orphanage.

138. A flat in a bend of the river on the eastern side: Xo'bxobti, "canoe paddles." Ash trees here, which supplied wood for paddles, gave the place its name.

139. A small creek entering the Dwamish from the west: GwExhwallt^u. This term suggests to my informants *gwEx^w*, "string," and *all^u*, "house." I do not know the reason for calling it this name.

140. An isolated knoll north of the bridge where the Puget Sound electric trains cross the Dwamish on the way to Tacoma: Cxi'yaq^u, said to mean "beaver." This and two other near-by elevations stand out on the plain separate from the near-by ridge. They are the scene of a famous story, the legend of North Wind and South Wind. In effect it is as follows: North Wind, whose name is Stu'bla, had a village on the lower part of the Dwamish. South Wind had a village farther up the stream. War arose, and while South Wind and his people were destroyed, his wife, Mountain Beaver, escaped *by digging through the ground* and went to her father. There her baby boy grew up. With the help of his old grandmother, young South Wind afterwards put North Wind to flight. The last place where the latter stopped was at the present Yeomalt (west of the Sound). This name is an Americanization of Yeboa't^u, "fighting house," which was formerly spelled on the early maps Yemoalt (notice the order of the letters, which has undergone a change on modern maps). Here the two winds had their last "tussle." Hence the breakers roll high on that point even today. This is why we do not have constant winter in the Dwamish valley, they say. South Wind drove North Wind away.

141. A place on the hillside south of the Interurban bridge just mentioned: Stu'bla, "North Wind." This is the site of North Wind's ancient village. A few yards below this spot a great reef of rocks stretches across the river, representing his fish dam, destroyed and ruined by young South Wind.

142. A conical elevation crowned with large boulders, just at the bridge: Stkax^u, "beaver-lodge." I think it derives its name from its domelike appearance.

143. An isolated hill, with cliffs on its eastern face: Squ'l'l'ats, "dirty face." This hill is where lived the aged grandmother of young South Wind. After her people were driven away, she became very poor, and her face became dirty. This explains the mottled appearance of the cliffs. The river sweeps along the base of this elevation.